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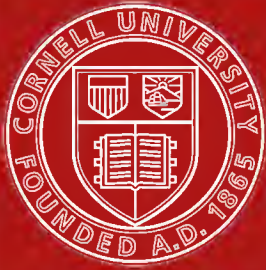


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M E M O I R

OF THE

REIGN OF JAMES II

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REIGN OF JAMES II.

BY

JOHN LORD VISCOUNT LONSDALE.

Printed by

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1808.

OF THE
LIFE AND CHARACTER OF
JOHN LORD VISCOUNT LONSDALE,

THE AUTHOR OF THE FOLLOWING MEMOIR.

THE stock of historical knowledge has been of late years considerably augmented by learned and ingenious men, from sources of private information. They have carefully selected many interesting particulars from the letters and authentic documents of several distinguished individuals, whose characters and eminent services are deeply interwoven with the political history of this country. Of the importance of such materials to enable us to form a just and accurate estimate of great events and of their causes, no doubt can be entertained.

WHEN we consider how extremely difficult it is to trace the occurrences of the day to their real origin, and how few are properly qualified to transmit to posterity any other narrative of

them, than what regards the chronological order in which they passed; we shall not be inclined to depreciate the labours of those who have recorded the transactions of their own times, especially if we are convinced of the correctness, fidelity, and truth, with which they are related. Such authorities will tend to remove much of that scepticism, which not unfrequently prevails, on many historical facts, and for which there is too often abundant reason.

SIR JOHN LOWTHER, Baronet, afterwards created Viscount Lonsdale, the author of the following historical memoir, was born in 1655, at Hackthorp-Hall, in the parish of Lowther, in the county of Westmoreland, and was the thirty-first knight of his family in an almost direct line. From many letters and papers now extant, he appears to have been intimately connected with all those illustrious persons, through whose virtuous exertions the revolution was happily accomplished.

His mother died when he was not above six years old; and the premature death of his father soon after, placed him entirely under the care of his grandfather, Sir John Lowther, of Lowther, who sent him to a public school at Kendal, where he remained only one year. He was afterwards removed to the school at Sedburgh, in the West-Riding of Yorkshire; and, before he had attained the age of fifteen years, was admitted of Queen's College,

Oxford, from whence, after a short stay of a year and an half, he was sent to travel. But his continental tour extended no further than to the city of Angers on the Loire, the whole time of his being abroad not exceeding eighteen months, twelve of which were spent at Sens. He has candidly acknowledged, that, although his education was such as to enable him to imbibe a taste of every thing that youth should know, he lost, for want of due care, almost all the advantages which he might have derived from it. He had acquired a more than ordinary knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages; and his grandfather was so much beyond measure exalted with the idea of his superior talents and abilities, that he introduced him into the world at too early a period. "The rudiments of school-learning were," he says, "planted, but not rooted," while the indulgence of his academical tutor caused him to forget what he had laboured to attain in the preceding part of his life. His own good sense suggested to him, that, if a parent send his son to the university to be educated as a gentleman, he should by all means engage a governour to attend him, who should be so much of a scholar, as to improve his school-learning, yet so complacent and polished in his manners, that his pupil might respect and love him, and delight in his company. For instructions are no longer profitable, than when they are accompanied with an esteem for him that instils them. The want of such a governour was considered by Mr. Lowther, as the error of his education: for,

having been sent alone to Oxford, and also to France, his time was utterly lost. Such is the account which he gives of himself. His own ingenuous modesty might probably induce him to form a less favourable opinion of his proficiency in learning, than it deserved.

HE had frequent occasions of regretting how very defective this nation was in the education of gentlemen. He remarked, that there was sufficient provision for those who devoted themselves to the study of divinity, physic, and the study of the civil law at the universities; but, that the education of gentlemen was a thing so foreign to the notions, birth, and studies of those men, and the discipline with regard to them so loose, that for a very long time it hath very manifestly been the ruin of all those young persons, who are easily susceptible of bad impressions; while the naturally good and virtuous are instructed in nothing but a little useless sophistry, an awkward garb and habit which requires a long time to unlearn, and which nothing less than two or three years' travel is able to remove. He adds: "To that
" negligence are we grown, that it is not so much as thought of
" to educate any in qualifications for foreign ministry or embassy,
" so that in reality, we are the scorn and contempt of all the
" courts of Europe; having scarce any body that understands any
" thing relating to our own, or the common interest of princes:
" insomuch, that at this time the King is obliged to employ the

“ chaplain of the late envoy in Sweden, and one taken for charity, from a tavern bar, in Germany. In Denmark, I think, he hath none, nor in Italy, nor Switzerland, unless a French refugee*.”

ON the demise of his grandfather, in 1675, Mr. Lowther was elected one of the knights for the county of Westmoreland, and continued its representative in parliament as long as he remained a commoner. The distinguished loyalty of his ancestors, and their constant affection towards the Protestant religion, operated on his virtuous mind as powerful incentives to emulate their examples. He uniformly declared himself an advocate for the test and corporation acts. He was convinced that an abrogation of those laws would effectually produce all the horrors of anarchy and confusion. Hence we find him opposing, from the best motives, the designs of James Duke of York. When the heir apparent of the crown of England openly avowed himself a Papist, and had given the most unequivocal marks of his detestation of the established religion of his country, nothing could be more dismal and gloomy than the prospect of his future reign. Hence the plan for excluding him from the throne, commenced so early as in the year 1668. It was revived in 1673; but the bill for his total exclusion was not brought into the house of

* In 1696. MS. in possession of the present Earl of Lonsdale.

commons, until the fifteenth day of May, 1679. When it was read the second time, it passed the house, by a majority of two hundred and seven, to one hundred and twenty-eight. It was not finally agreed to, until the eleventh day of November, 1680, when it was carried into the house of Peers by Lord Russel. It was no sooner received by the Lords, than the members, who attended Lord Russel, expressed their joy by loud shouts. The Lords rejected the bill by a majority of thirty.

ON this occasion, and indeed on every occasion that required his attention to the public good, Sir John Lowther distinguished himself by his superior abilities and disinterested integrity. He never desisted from exerting his best endeavours to ward off the imminent and alarming dangers which arose from the influence of popish counsels.

As long as his health allowed him, he constantly attended his duty in parliament; and his name frequently occurs in the different committees to which matters of great public and private concern were referred. He is represented as a person particularly eminent for the excellence of his understanding, and the soundness of his judgment: of inimitable grace in speaking, and of great weight and authority with all those who heard him.

DURING the reign of James II. his mind was agitated with perpetual anxiety and terrour, at those rash and precipitate measures which were then adopted. In this emergency, he rigidly adhered to a maxim which he had laid down to himself as sacred and inviolable: that “ *he who builds his greatness and his fortune by flattering and serving a prince in his vices or designs of tyranny, is a traitor to God, to his prince, and to his country, and ought to be treated as such.*” Though at the commencement of this reign, he was strongly inclined to place almost an unlimited confidence in the promises of the King, the conduct of that infatuated monarch became every day more offensive to his Protestant subjects. To an ingenuous mind, no sensation of grief can be equally poignant with that which results from the necessity of resisting the authority of the supreme magistrate. But when that authority prescribes to itself no limits, when it attempts to subvert the laws and destroy the constitution of the state, the relation betwixt the prince and the subject is obviously dissolved: And this was now the case. In vain did James assure his parliament that he would always defend and support the church of England; that he would preserve the government, both in church and state, as it was by law established. This promise solemnly made, was almost immediately broken. So loose were those maxims of morality, which directed the conduct of this unhappy prince!

THE Duke of Monmouth's rebellion was scarcely extinguished, when the King hesitated not to acknowledge his violation of the laws of the land: an offence which he dared to vindicate under the specious pretext of exercising a dispensing power. "Let no man," said he, in his speech to both houses of parliament, "take exception, that there are some officers in the army not qualified, according to the late tests, for their employments. The gentlemen, I must tell you, are most of them well known to me; and, having formerly served with me on several occasions, and always approved the loyalty of their principles by their practice, I think fit to be employed under me. And I will deal plainly with you, that having had the benefit of their service in such time of need and danger, I will neither expose them to disgrace, nor myself to want of them, if there should be another rebellion to make them necessary for me*."

WHEN no hopes remained of a change of behaviour in the King and his council, in the midst of the fears which arose from the united efforts of popery and tyranny, Sir John Lowther was one of those great and good men, to whom we owe the preservation of our religion, and of every thing dear and valuable to us. He joined with them in soliciting the assistance of William, and inviting him into England; and was a member of that con-

* Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. ix. p. 756.

vention in which the crown was settled on the Prince and Princess of Orange. He had previously secured the city of Carlisle, and influenced the two counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland to declare themselves in favour of the Prince.

ON the accession of King William, he was immediately appointed a privy counsellor, and vice-chamberlain of his Majesty's household.

IN 1689, he was made Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland.

IN 1690, he was first commissioner of the treasury. Of the nature of this office, of the difficulties attending it, and of the contracted system of political œconomy which prevailed in his time, he thus writes; “ Amongst employments in this nation, “ the treasury, though one of the most honourable, yet is un- “ doubtedly the most dangerous and uneasy: since it hath been, “ ever since I knew parliaments, a maxim to supply the crown “ narrowly, lest it should be enabled to support itself without “ them, whereby grievances would grow, and no means of re- “ dressing them, and liberty and property would be in danger. “ It is plain, that this way, and rule of policy, may indeed keep “ the state alive, and preserve to every man his own; and so “ life may drawl on in a kind of sleeping ease: but all that

“ vigour and noble virtue that tends to the glory and aggran-
 “ dize-ment of a nation, is stifled and kept down by it, and effec-
 “ tually it hath been so with us for a long time. So far have
 “ kings been from being able to build cities, as private men
 “ among the Romans, and as great princes have sometimes done,
 “ for the good of their country, and perpetuating their memory,
 “ that ours can scarce repair their palaces. King James could
 “ but get one room built; king Charles the first, nothing: king
 “ Charles the second, with all the violent passion he had for
 “ building, got the alterations at Windsor finished, and yet most,
 “ if not all, the money came from Ireland. King James the
 “ second made some alterations in Whitehall; and king William
 “ and queen Mary repented they ever undertook Hampton-
 “ Court, and at last were forced to leave it in a miserable condi-
 “ tion, not half finished*.”

IN 1694 the return of a disorder, to which he was subject, com-
 pelled him to decline his attendance upon parliament for some
 time: He therefore retired to his seat at Lowther, where he
 enjoyed that happy solitude which he called “his dearest com-
 “ panion and entertainment.” He took great pleasure in adorning
 his magnificent house with paintings of the most eminent artists,
 and indulged his taste for rural elegance in improving the aspect

* Manuscript.

of the whole country, in embellishing and enriching its noble scenery by those extensive plantations which he formed and nurtured with the tenderest care. Relieved from the toils and fatigues of public engagements, he experienced a never-failing source of gratification in the recreation of a garden. On this subject he thus expresses his sentiments in an address to his son :

“GARDENS have charms indeed, that to me exceed all the pleasures of life. It was a garden that was the earthly paradise of our first parents in the state of innocence. It was in a garden that Epicurus taught his philosophy, who is said to have understood true pleasure the best of any man. But to enlarge on this subject would seem rather poetical and romantic, than suitable to the subject I am treating of. Suffice it to say, that when you grow into years, when you begin to exercise the mind more than the body, as men, before they grow old, always do, then you will find the help of it to contemplation: then the walks, the solitude, the trees, the plants, the birds, the open air, all fellow-creatures of yours, made together with you for his pleasure that is the Author of all things, will please you indeed, when especially the innocence, calmness, and serenity of your thoughts make you fit for so divine and ravishing an exercise*.”

* Manuscript.

IN the privacy of this retirement he rendered himself no un-
 useful member of society, by a faithful administration of justice.
 The motto of his family had long been—*Magistratus indicat virum* *.
 In the discharge of the office of a magistrate he formed himself
 upon the model of his instructions to his son, by strictly punish-
 ing vice and all notorious disturbers of the peace, by carefully
 distinguishing between the malevolence of frivolous prosecution,
 and the effrontery of wicked offenders. If he had acted other-
 wise, he would have become, in his own opinion, the executioner
 of the iniquitous designs of bad men: an employment which
 every person of worth will carefully avoid. As a magistrate
 and an arbitrator of justice and differences, he permitted neither
 application to prepossess him, nor any sinister end to incline him to
 do wrong, no not even the poverty of one of the parties; for that
 is sometimes a fault in good men, to incline to the cause of the
 poor against justice, as others do to the side of the rich for
 advantage.

THOUGH in an almost uninterrupted state of bad health, which
 he attributed to excess of exercise in his youth, he uniformly
 enjoyed a tranquillity and composure of mind, the result of
 those habits of temperance in which he always persevered. He

* Αρχη δεικνυει τον ανδρα. Aristot.

had no curiosity in his appetite for rarities in meat and drink. “The plough, the garden, and the dairy, with a cook of forty shillings a year, would provide all that he wished for.” When he presided at his table, he was hospitable, but not luxurious; encouraging the learned and the good, but banishing with indignation the flatterer, the calumniator, and the ministers of unlawful pleasures. He seems, however, to have extended his ideas of temperance too far, when he intimates his desire of confining himself to a vegetable diet. “The herds and flocks,” he says, “should live secure for me: no fish nor feathered fowl should lose its life to support me: I would have nature undisturbed in the order and course that Providence hath appointed it*.”

WHEN he recommends the duty of sobriety, he enforces the recommendation by his own resolution. “Wine shall never dispossess my reason of its dwelling, assigned it by God who gave it me. I will never expose myself to his anger, nor to a sober man’s scorn upon that account. As I am a man, I know I am of the most excellent and perfect rank of creatures that this little earth is replenished with, and I will endeavour not to degrade myself into an equality with such as we esteem most sordid †.”

* Manuscript.

† Manuscript.

OF pride he entertained the most sovereign contempt, while in his own demeanour he exhibited an amiable pattern of a meek and humble spirit. He has judiciously observed that a man of birth and quality has this peculiar advantage: as he needs not the subterfuge of pride to procure him esteem and respect, so does humility and courtesy doubly add to the lustre of his birth and race.

NEXT to his friends, in the selection of whom he was more than commonly nice and exact, his books were his best and most faithful companions, and one of the greatest comforts of his life. And here a pleasing domestic scene presents itself to our view. His eldest son, standing near him while he is writing in his library, is thus animated to the attainment of that knowledge which is treasured up in the volumes of ancient and modern literature. “ What a pleasure is it one day to be a judge of the
“ reasonableness and affection of what I am doing, and at the
“ same time seeing round me whatever the world has produced
“ most worth knowing! When I have at hand all that philoso-
“ phers, divines, historians, poets, mathematicians, architects, &c.
“ understood, digested into the best method and order, com-
“ municative of whatever I am most desirous to know, without
“ any constraint upon me, ready to be laid by without offence,
“ when weary of them, and to be resumed without ceremony:

“ what would a man give for so easy a friend? And here you
 “ have collected together the most excellent of all mortals in all
 “ ages, of all countries, without being troubled with either their
 “ impertinence, insolence, affectation, moroseness, and pride, the
 “ common failings of knowing, great, and learned men. But as
 “ the use of well-chosen books is the most excellent benefit of
 “ any thing that it hath pleased God to bestow upon the
 “ children of men, so an ill choice of them is, in the opposite
 “ extreme, the most pernicious mischief that can be. Good
 “ books instruct us in our duty towards God, towards man,
 “ and to ourselves: they form the mind to just and proper
 “ thoughts, make us good servants to God, good subjects, and
 “ useful to the state both as governors and servants, and what-
 “ ever else relates to the common advantages of life: ill ones
 “ deprave the mind, and have in all those respects a quite
 “ contrary effect*.”—He then proceeds, with great diffidence
 and modesty, to recommend to his son those books which he
 thought most worthy of his perusal, and most useful to him in
 that elevated station, which he was to fill in the world.

ON the twenty-eighth of May, 1696, he was advanced to the
 dignities of Viscount and Baron, by the style and title of
 Viscount Lonsdale and Baron Lowther.

* Manuscript.

IN 1699 he was made Lord Privy Seal: and when through ill health he was obliged to retire from business, the King would not permit him to resign the seal, but ordered him to take it into the country with him. Of the great personal regard which his Majesty entertained for him, the following letter may be adduced as a proof:

“ Hampton-Court, ce 23^e de May, 1700.

“ J'AY este extremement marri d'apprendre par la lettre que
“ vous avez escrit au Secret. Vernon que vous avez trouve si
“ peu de soulagement en vostre sante au bains que vous estes
“ oblige de songer d'aller chez vous en esperance d'y trouver
“ plus de soulagement, ce que je vous souhaite de tout mon
“ cœur, et suis tres content que vous y alliez quoy que j'aurois
“ extremement souhaite de vous avoir aupres de moy en cette
“ conjuncture ou j'ay plus besoin que jamais des personnes en
“ qui je me fie autant qu'a vous, Et pour qui j'ay autant
“ d'estime. J'espere que le bon Dieu vous rendra bientost vostre
“ sante Et que vous reviendrez le plus tost qu'il vous sera
“ possible, Cependant vous pourez faire avec les prevy seaux
“ comme vous avez fait l'anne passe quands vous estiez absens,
“ ou de telle autre maniere que vous trouverez convenable,
“ Mais j'espere que vous ne songez pas a quitter mon service sur
“ tout a present que j'en ay plus besoin que jamais, Et que je
“ n'y pourez point consenti, ayent autant d'estime et d'amitie

“ que j'ay pour vous, dont je seres tres aise de vous donner des
“ marques en toutte sorte d'occasions.

“ Signed,

“ *William R.*”

“ *For the Lord Privy Seal.*”

IN the month of July 1700, he was appointed one of the Lords Justices to govern the kingdom, during the King's absence in Holland. But on the tenth day of that month, he departed this life, at the age of forty-five years: so short was the time allotted to him by Providence. But, short as that time was, he employed it in the practice of virtue, in the pursuit of every thing good and praise-worthy. Hence he was esteemed and beloved by the King whom he faithfully served, endeared to his family, and respected by all good men. He enjoyed as great a portion of happiness as can fall to the lot of humanity. He has acknowledged this in the conclusion of his advice to his son. The language of exalted piety and humble gratitude, in which he expresses his sentiments to his son on this occasion, cannot be sufficiently admired. “ It is not to be imagined that perfect
“ uninterrupted happiness can be the portion of this life: that is
“ reserved for another, for those on whom it shall please the
“ Almighty Lord God to bestow it: but he may arrive at that,
“ which, praised be that great God, is my condition; that is, to

“ know that I am more happy than I deserve, and as entirely so as I can be in this life, or desire to be, which blessing I pray also for you*.” Whence arose this perception of his felicity, but from the consciousness of his own best endeavours to excel in goodness? He frequently declared that he made the scripture the rule of his conduct, and reason the expositor of scripture. Here he found a plain and natural order of faith and manners, easy and intelligible to the meanest capacities, and agreed to by all mankind; and where any thing occurred difficult and mysterious, he left it to the decision of the Supreme Being at the last day.

It would be difficult to enumerate his many acts of benignity and munificence towards others. Yet they did not always meet with an adequate return. He was treated with great ingratitude for favours which he had conferred with the most unbounded generosity. But he forbore to name those persons from whom he had received such usage, that he might not leave his children with an ill impression of any, but only teach them to be wise by his own experience.

THE parish church of Lowther, a neat and elegant structure, was almost entirely rebuilt by him. He caused a school to be

* MS.

erected in the village of Lowther, and liberally endowed it, from a conviction that it was the duty of every good citizen to promote the welfare of his country. He intended it not barely for learning languages, but virtue; for the purpose of instilling early principles of reverence to the name of God, and of obedience to his divine pleasure.

HE left issue by his wife Catharine, the daughter of Sir Henry Frederick Thynne, three sons and five daughters. She survived him many years. All his daughters were honourably and happily married, except Jane, his third daughter, who died unmarried, in 1752.

1. RICHARD, his eldest son, died on the first day of December, 1713; an early victim to that cruel disease, the small pox, which at that time so frequently and so fatally blasted the happiness, and destroyed the hopes of families. To this amiable youth, Mr. Tickell, a native of Cumberland, and the friend and biographer of Mr. Addison, inscribed his elegant poem, entitled OXFORD, beginning with these lines :

Whilst you, my Lord, adorn that stately seat
Where shining Beauty makes her soft retreat;
Enjoying all those graces uncontroll'd,
Which noblest youths would die but to behold:

Whilst you inhabit Lowther's awful pile,
A structure, worthy of the founder's toil,
Amaz'd we see the former Lonsdale shine,
In each descendant of his noble line :
But most transported and surpris'd we view
His ancient glories all reviv'd in you,
Where charms and virtues join their equal grace,
Your father's god-like soul, your mother's lovely face.

2. HENRY, the third Viscount Lonsdale, succeeded his brother Richard, and was in 1715, appointed *custos rotulorum*, and afterward lord lieutenant of the counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland. In 1717, he was made one of the lords of the bedchamber. On the accession of King George I. he was appointed constable of the tower of London, and lord lieutenant of the hamlets thereof, and was afterward lord privy seal. His character is thus pourtrayed by one of his contemporaries :

An attempt towards the Character of a Nobleman lately deceased.

The
Great Man,
Whose character these lines presume but to sketch,
If considered in
His attachment to the Protestant succession,
His love to the King,
And his readiness to co-operate with his Ministers,
Whenever he thought them in the right,
Was a true Courtier.
But if we regard
His constant adherence to the interests of his country,
His contempt of honours and advantages to himself,
And his steady opposition to every measure
Which he thought detrimental to the public,
He was indeed a Patriot.
Beloved by his friends,
Respected even by his enemies,
He was honoured in the Senate with attention from both.
Courtied by all parties,
Inlisting with none,
He preserved throughout his life a remarkable independency.
These public virtues arose
From the excellence of his private disposition,
From the universal benevolence of his heart,
From the uprightness of his intentions,
From his great parts and uncommon penetration.
O Reader !
Can it be necessary to inform thee
Whose character this is ?
Alas !
To how few can it be applied, but
To HENRY Lord Viscount LONSDALE !

LORD CLARE, in 1774, wrote the following Epitaph on this amiable Nobleman, as “ a tribute of affection and reverence to “ his dearest friend, and the most perfect man he ever had “ the happiness and honour of being acquainted with.” It is addressed to Sir James Lowther.

E P I T A P H.

COULD every virtue of the human breast,
Taught by the wisest, practis'd by the best ;
Could kind Beneficence with open hands,
Whose tender heart at Pity's call expands ;
Could patriot Zeal, refin'd in Freedom's flame,
Pure as from heaven the bright effusion came ;
Could patient Fortitude, whose powers restrain
The rising sigh, and blunt the edge of pain ;
From Fate's relentless doom persuasive save
The wise, the good, the generous, and the brave ;
Not yet would Britain her lov'd son resign,
Nor grateful LOWTHER mix his tears with mine.

HE died at Byram, in the county of York, on the seventh day of March, 1750-1, and by his will, dated the twenty-seventh of May, 1747, left his real estate to his heir at law, James the son of Robert Lowther, Esquire, of Meaburn, in Westmoreland, who on May 24, 1784, was, by patent, created a peer of Great

Britain, by the title of Earl of Lonsdale, Viscount Lonsdale, Viscount Lowther, Baron Lowther, Baron of Kendal, and Baron of Burgh.

3. Anthony, the youngest son, one of the commissioners of the revenue in Ireland, was representative in parliament for Cockermonth, from 1714, to 1722, and afterward knight of the shire for Westmoreland. He died November 24, 1741, unmarried.

M E M O I R, &c.

Begun September 16, 1688.

I AM now come to the month of September, in the year 1688, and doe design, by God's permission, more exactlie hereafter to sett down what shall happen not onlie to myself, but also such other publick occurrences, both at home and abroad, as shall appear most worthy of observation; which things tho' they may make the matter in hand voluminous, yett I hope there may arise from it some advantage and pleasure to myself, and perhapps some things may be usefull to posteritie; att the worst I hope to ffind an innocent entertainment in so doeing, which is the ultimate pleasure of this life; ffor without innocence no injoyments are satisfactorie, but a sting and uneasinesse attends them, and is so much a part of their constitution, that no criminall pleasure in the world is either perfect or lasting. To begin therefore with some period of time, I shall commence from the death of King Charles, making a short recapitulation of what hath happened since that time. About the month of ffebruarie, anno 1684, in the dead of the night a post awakened me, and

E

brought us the dreadfull account of the King's being seized with a fitt of an apoplexie*, but withall that he was so much better that his physitions thought him out of danger. About fflower days after another post about the same hower of the night brought me letters from my Lord Carlisle, our L^d Lieutenant, with others from my L^d Middleton, of Scotland, Secretarie of State to him, with directions that I should acquaint the gentlemen of the two counties that the King was dead, and that we should take speedie care to proclaim his present Majestie, and to have the militia in a readinesse to prevent any troubles, w^{ch} I accordinglie took care of, and was att the proclaiming the King att Applebie, Cockermouth, and Penreth. The King upon his ffirst accession to the crown made a speech to the privie councill, ffull of affection to his brother, and kindnesse to his people; especiallie to the Church of England, whose loyall principles he commended and gave them strong assurances of his protection of them, to the generall satisfaction of the whole kingdome. Within lesse than a moneth we had an account that he went publickly to masse, which he had never before done, w^{ch} action, though it affrighted many that were zealous in their religion, timerous in their natures, and apprehensive of the King's known steadinesse in his resolutions, yet a ffar greater number had then no such apprehensions, who were composed of

* Vide my Lord Middleton's and Lord Carlisle's letters.

those who had been followers of his fortune into Flanders and Scotland, which journies looking like a kind of banishment, and his danger of being lost in the Gloucester, made the usuall operation in the minds of English men, pittie ffor the afflicted: Besides the Popish plott of a long time discredited, and now no more thought on, that for which my Lord Russell was executed, haveing created a fresh aversion to Dissenters, and commiseration for the Papists. The great interest he had in his brother, so that all applications to the King seemed to succeed onelie as he ffavoured them, and the generall opinion of him to be a Prince, steadie above all others to his word, made him att that time the most popular prince that had been known in England of a long time. And ffrom men's attempting to exclude him, they att this juncture of time made him their darling; no more was his religion terrible, his magnanimous courage and the hardships he had undergone, were the discours of all men. And some reports of a misunderstanding betwixt the Ffrench king and him (occasioned originallie by the marriage of the Lady Mary to the Prince of Orange) industriously spread abroad to amuse the ignorant, putt men in hopes of what they had long wished, that by a conjunction with Holland and Spain, &c. we might have been able to have reduced Ffrance to the terms of the Pyrenean treatie, which was now become the terrour of Christendome, we never having had a prince ffor manie ages that had so great a reputation for experience and a martialk

spiritt. In this luckie conjuncture, King Charles being dead, and this king being received by some with a real, by all with a pretended satisfaction att least, parliament was called; and, in the mean time, till it mett, the customes tho' but given to the late King for life, were received as fformerlie; and that matter, which occasioned so much controversie in King Charles the ffirst's time, never was once complained of upon this occasion. Att this time I was again chosen knight ffor this countie, in conjunction with my cousin Bellingham. Att the meéting of the parliament, the King in his speech to both houses repeated his kind expressions to the Church of England, and his assurance of protecting it, and told them that he hoped to carrie the glorie of the English nation ffurther than anie of his ancestors. This speech was so popular, that all were willing to beleiv it; especially since t'was in vain to seek for other securitie, than the laws alreadie established, and confirmed by his promise. And therefore in the matter of the revenue he did not ask so much as the parliament did give. So that they prevented not only his expectations but his wishes; insomuch that they laid so great an imposition upon tobacco and sugars as in the apprehensions of many men would destroy the plantations that subsist by those commodities: and, notwithstanding that the marchants from Bristol, and other places, were heard att the bar of the hous, and by very rational discourses made the matter but too plain, yett t'was to no purpose; some men's

private interest, other men's willingness to endear the King as much as possible making them deaf to all arguments, and besides the King's promise, that if it was found inconvenient to the trade, he would remitt the imposition, was of so much prevalence, that the matter was allowed no further debate. And this is to be observed, that not onlie at this juncture, but to all new kings, parliaments have been ever favourable. But yett there were some men, not altogether so transported with this new paradise, as not to foresee danger in some things done already, and in some things then proposed. The first of these was, the destroying the antient method of elections in burroughs by prescription; by obliging them to accept charters w^{ch} vested the power of election in some perticular people named for the purpose. This seemed to strike at the root of the goverment; for tis manifest the hous of commons will retain nothing but the name, the vertue will be gone when the king shall have the power of nominating all the citizens and burgesses. I therefore was one of those that was desirous to have the antient custome re-established; thinking that we were chosen to sitt there to no purpose, if we tamelie suffered such an alteration in the fundamentals of the goverment, without endeavouring any reparation of so materiall an alteration. I found many as much concerned and troubled as myself att the prospect of the danger, but none that were willing to move it in the hous. But it being offered me by my Lord Willoughbie, eldest son to my Lord Lindsey,

and by his brother, and by S^r Richard Middleton, of Chirk Castle, and others, all men of great estates, that if I would move it, they would second it, I undertook the thing, and the day appointed ffor our design being taken up till after twelve a'clock with other debates, I did, notwithstanding, (that I might not seem to ffail those I had promised) according to the rules of the hous, that no new motion shall be made after that hower, without leav, inform S^r John Trevor, now master of the rolls, and then speaker, that I had a motion to make, but being then unseasonable, I did desire he would appoint another day for it. He who had intelligence of our design, thought there was no likelier way both to judge of the temper of the hous, and to evade the danger of its taking effect, than by letting us then enter into the debate, and so adjourning it to another day. Accordingly he bid me goe on; I therefore spoke to this effect; That we were now happie in a prince, whose experience and reputation was like to carrie the honour and glorie of this kingdome higher than anie of his ancestors; that we had reason to hope ffrom so magnanimous a king, that the Ffrench king who was looked upon as the terrour of the nations, would now no more be thought fformidable, but that the shaken^o powers of Europe would own their securitie and protection to the vertue of our prince, no less considerable in himself, than powerful in the affections of his people, which was a circumstance that was of it self sufficient to make anie king of England bear a con-

siderable figure in the world; that the parliament in settling the revenue had showed so much their dutie and affection to his Maj^e. and he had on his part given them so good and repeated assurances of protecting and securing the goverment, that I hoped that in the motion I was going to make, we should neither incur his displeasure nor ffail of successe, 'speciallie since the alteration of elections in burroughs by prescription, by obliging them to take charters, was a businesse that took its originall under his brother's reign, but was a matter of that importance, that it shaked the very constitutions of parliament; that it was a disseising of the subject of his ffreehold without a tryall, and was a matter that in its own nature and its consequences, was of the greatest importance, and proper for the consideration of the whole hous. I did therefore desire that the hous would name a comittee to consider of a proper way of applying to the King ffor a remedy ffor so great a greivance.

THIS speech was heard very ffavourable by the hous, and was seconded by S^r Richard Middleton, my Lord Willoughbie, and others; but the day being late, the debate was adjourned till two days after, att which time t'was thought fitt to evade the businesse by the King's sending for the hous upon another occasion, which took up their time for that day, so that the debate was never resumed; and if it had, in probabilitie some-

thing considerable would have been done in it, the hous seemed so well inclined and so zealous in that matter.

THE second thing wherein they seemed to use caution was in a bill brought into the hous ffor the preservation of the king's person, the meaning of which was to make words treason. Against which it was objected, that the wisdom of our ancestors had always been testified in their caution in not admitting any such president; that words were easilie misconstrued, and easilie misunderstood; that before the statute of Edward the third, it was become a difficult matter to say what was treason, and what not; that therefore that act was made, and was thought a sufficient securitie against all treasons, and had well provided for the safetie of the king's person and his goverment, and had amply enough enumerated the severall sorts of treasons; and that if there were anie axtraordinarie case happened, there was a power lodged in the parliament by that statute to judge of it. That it would onlie tend to the incouraging perjurie, when men either through corruption or revenge, might so easilie doe mischeif, and be so hardlie proved perjured, To this t'was answered, that men might as easilie swear to ffacts that were never done, as to words that were never spoke. To which it was replied, that that appeared otherways in holie writt in the case of our Saviour, against whom the ffals witnesses said, that he had said that he would destroy the temple, and in three days

would build it up again, whereas the words he spake were, Destroy this temple and in three days I will rais it up again. Where the mistake of the temple ffor this temple, ffor he spoke of the temple of his bodie, and the word build instead of the word rais made the crime according to the Jewish law. By which t'was plain that everie speech not fitted to the capacitie of the hearers might easilie be subject to a criminall construction, that private conversation would become suspected, and therefore that the law did wiselie provide that there should be an overt act to make a treason, which is the highest punishment in the law. Att last, becaus they would not totallie reject a matter that had but the pretence of securing the King's person, they referred it to a comittee to draw up some provisoes to the bill, that might secure the subject as much as could be. I was one of that comittee, and there were two provisoes agreed upon. The one was, that no preaching or teaching against the errours of Rome in defence of the Protestant religion should be construed to be within that act. The second was, that all informations within that statute should be made within forty-eight howers. With these two provisoes the fforce of it was so mutilated, that it was not thought worth having; and so it died.

Att this time Argile landed in Scotland, and in pursuance of an agreement made betwixt them in Holland, the Duke of

Monmouth att Lime in Dorcettshire. Argile came better provided into a countrie supposed to be more disaffected, himself reckoned a man of parts and experience, and yet he did nothing that ever threatned danger. But the Duke of Monmouth, contrarie to all men's expectations, spun out the businesse into length, and tho' esteemed a man no way formidable either for parts or experience, yett with 83 men and 200 guineas, he brought things to that passe, that the successe was much doubted by manie; for within a verie few days his armie was increased to seven or eight thousand men; nay, some said to above ten thousand. But whether his own single follie, or the councill of those that were supposed to betray him added to it, was the cause of his proclaiming himself King, was doubtfull. But this was certain, that severall thousands quitted him within three days after. He had, however, so good an armie left, and managed his businesse so cautiouslie that he marched towards Bristol, and at Kainsham Bridge, a place not far from thence, in some skirmishes he was thought not to have the worst of it. But finding Bristol possessed by the King's forces he returned back again, and entered Bridgewater, whilst the King's forces under the command of my L^d Ffeversham lay encamped upon Sedge Moor, some three miles from the town, covered with a ditch. The Duke, in hopes to surprise them, issued out in the night, and was so far prosperous as to misse Coll. Oglethorp, who was gone to the very town of Bridgewater

to gain intelligence. And the King's hors being quartered att a little village a quarter of a mile of where my Lord Ffeversham was also, were said not to be in all the readinesse that was necessarie. But however the hors under the conduct of my Lord Gray did so little, running away att the verie ffirst, that there was no great want of the King's hors to oppose them. The ffoot, indeed, ffought better, and two ffeld peeces they had did some execution. But the hors being gone, the matter was grown desperate, and herein the Duke of Monmouth lost much of his reputation ffor courage; ffor instead of dieing in the ffeld as was expected, he left his men fighting, and endeavoured to escape in companie with my Lord Gray, but was within two days taken among some bushes hid, with a pockett full of peas, which he was fforced to gather ffor ffood. He was brought up to London, dined at Chivinch's lodgings, where he saw the King, and both there and by letters asked for pardon. What arguments he had to hope it would be granted, were not certain. Within ffower days he was executed upon Tower Hill, suffering ffower if not ffive blows of the axe, of which, tho' he seemed ffearfull ffrom my Lord Russell's case, who had done so before, he died other ways with great constancie. My Lord Gray's conduct in all this businesse gave the censorious world leav to say that he betrayed him, and that he triumphed in the revenge ffor private injuries received in his ffamilie: for besides the ffailure of the hors under his conduct, he, after their being

taken, seemed rather pleased than fearful; his talk was of hounds and hunting, and when the Duke at Mr. Chivinch's complained of a cold he had got, he in a scoff told him his uncle had a cure to be applied in a few days. This conduct, added to his former escape out of the hands of a messenger in a hackney coach, made the world almost assured of what they suspected; and I have been informed that one Major Holmes discerned the thing so plainly, that he told the Duke three days before the battle at Sedgemoor, that my Lord Gray was certainly either a coward or a knave; that, if he would give him leave, he would secure him, without which he despaired of success. The Duke made answer that 'twas then too late. The courage of this Major was remarkable: He had his arm broke in the battle, was brought up to London, had his life offered him by the King, if he would promise to live quietly, and endeavour no disturbance. His answer was, that his principles had ever been republican, as thinking that form of government best for this nation; that he was still of that mind; that he was now an old man, and his life as little worth asking as 'twas worth his Majesty's giving; and 'twas indifferent to him whether his Majesty pardoned him or not. He was therefore sent into the country and hanged, whilst my Lord Gray had his pardon, and became an evidence against several. Besides those that were killed in the field there were about seven hundred sentenced to death and executed, insomuch that all the high ways of that

countrie were no longer to be travailed, whilst the horroure of so many quarters of men and the offensive stench of them lasted, of which Dr. Ken, the Bishop of that diocesse, writ a most pathetical letter to his Majestie,—S^r George Joeffrey, then Cheif Justice and now Lord Chancellor, being the principall Judge sent into that countrie to trie them.

PROCESSES were also begun to be made against severall people of qualitie, tho' not any gentleman of note was in arms, unlesse one Speak. My Lord Brandon was condemned, my Lord Macklesfeild fled; but upon the same evidence my L^d De la More was acquitted by his Peers, the evidence being proved perjured, which putt a stop to all farther tryalls, and saved my Lord Brandon. The parliament in this businesse behaved themselves with great loyaltie, ffor a bill of attainder past both houses (as I remember) in one day against the Duke of Monmouth; and so the parliament was prorogued till winter.

THIS rebellion occasioned the raising an armie of eleven or twelve thousand men, w^{ch} added to those we had before, amounted to seventeen or eighteen thousand men, sufficient to furnish the garrisons and an incampment everie summer upon Hownsloe Heath, to the astonishment of the people of England,

who had not so much as in historie heard of anie such thing in time of peace.

IN this armie were many popish officers, which being taken notice of by the parliament that mett in the winter, and also their not granting the whole summe demanded by his Majestie did so much offend him, that after a week's sitting he dismissed them and dissolved that parliament.—Thus all rebellions that are not successfull, strengthen the prerogative; ffor my Lord Russell's plott first made the King, when Duke, popular; and Monmouth's rebellion gave occasion for raising an armie which continues to this day.

AFTER this there was an information lodged in the King's Bench against Sr Edward Hales, ffor accepting the office of Lieutenant of the Tower, without taking the oaths and test, wherebie he fforfeited 500l.; and an action brought ffor *half* of that money due to the informer. He pleaded the King's dispensation, whereupon the opinion of all the judges was asked, whether the King might in that case dispense wth the law: they all gave their opinion he might, excepting Judge Street; upon which there were Roman Catholicks putt into all offices, as well civil as militarie. About the moneth of July, 1686, there was a parliament called in Scotland, of whom the

principall matter desired was the repeal of the test. But that parliament, which of late had lead the way to England in things desired by the crown, in this matter refused, and broke up without corresponding with the King's desires. The expectation of a parliam^t to be called in England ffor the same purpose was great. But the King being advised that all assemblies of that kind, if not according to his desire, were prejudiciall to his affairs, it was thought most proper to know the minds of both houses as to that perticular, and t'was resolved, that the King, in person, should speak to as manie as came to court, that they might be the more swayed by his authoritie; and all those that would not complie should be displaced ffrom all offices whatever; which councill was accordinglie putt in execution. The King ffound so ffew would agree to what was asked, that there was suddainlie a verie great change in the houshold, The K^s to show his resolution to have this matter take effect, putts out a declaration ffor libertie of conscience, and orders three questions to be stated, which were to be carried down into all the counties of England by the Lord Lievtenants, and tendered to all the Justices of Peace and Deputie Lievtenants, with a declaration in the Gaz^t att the same time, that he would displace all those that refused to complie with his desire; notwithstanding w^{ch} the answers were universallie opposite to what was expected. The questions were to this effect:

1. "WHETHER, if you be chosen a member of parliament ffor
 "this countie or anie burrough thereof, will you be ffor taking
 "away the penall laws and test?"

2. "Whether will you give your vote and interest ffor such
 "as will be ffor taking away the penal laws and test?"

3. "WHETHER will you support the King's declaration by
 "liveing peaceable with men of all perswasions, as a good
 "Christian ought to doe?"

THESE questions were brought into this countrie by my L^d
 Preston, Lord Lieutenant for these two counties. And the
 gentlemen were summoned to meet him at Penreth. A day or
 two before the time appointed, S^r Daniell Fleming came
 hither, and desired to know my opinion about an answer to
 them. I showed him my thoughts, w^{ch} he was pleased to
 approve, and my answer was so universallie liked, that, except-
 ing by two or three att most, it was given verbatim by all the
 gentlemen that did not complie with the questions, w^{ch}
 were about 17 or 18. It was to this effect:

1. "IF I be chosen a member of parliam^t ffor this countie or
 "any burrough thereof, I think myself obliged to refer my

opinion concerning the taking away the penall laws and tests to the reasons that shall arise from the debate of the hous.

2. IF I give my vote to anie to serv in parliament, it shall be to such honest and loyall gentlemen as I think wil ffaithfullie serv the King and the established government.

3. I WILL live peaceablie with men of all perswasions, as a good Christian ought to doe.

MANIE men verie much wondered att this councill given to his Majestie: ffor ffirst, it was a noveltie to ask what one would doe in parliament, there being no president of anie such thing,—and all new things are suspected. Moreover it was against the method of parliaments to have debates fforeclosed, and an unequall opinion of men's judgement and honestie, to suppose that they would so bind up themselves by promises in their private capacities, that, when they came into the hous, they should be bound up ffrom resigning to the fforce of the reasons they should hear there. And as to anie advantage that might arise to the King, tho' it was true that he avoided a deniall of the parliament, yett he mett with one ffrom the generalitie of his people which was more materiall; ffor the conclusions of parliaments have often been against the sense of the nation, and the crown hath drawn great advantages ffrom their too

eager opposition to it, as this King knew by his own experience. But a nation cannot oppose its self; and by the universalitie of this businesse t'was made the action of the kingdome: ffor all the mistrusts that the fformer changes had bred amongst men were by their consent in this point dispers'd; a new confidence was created where suspicions were highest, and the multitude of opposers created an assurance in manie, that were otherways wavering, to be of that number; and what was more, manie who approved the thing, were yett of the number of those that denied compliance, that they might not dissent ffrom their ffriends. And 'tis most certain, that a great manie chose to loos their places which were beneficiall, rather than submitt themselves to the censure of their countries, by whom they had been trusted in fformer parliaments. Which verie men, had they been lett alone, would once ffor all have given their consent in parliament, ffor which they would have ffound excuses of various sorts. Besides the displacing men upon that account, was a contradiction to its self; to make a question about repealing tests, and to make that very question a penall test upon those that refused to consent to it; to issue out a declaration ffor libertie of conscience, and to punish those whose consciences could not complie with it: They looked but little into the book of nature, whilst they oversaw that ffear, as it contracts perticular bodies, so it doth unite numbers; that it ffirst occasioned goverments, and defences against surprises; that to

obtain of others, what in anie construction may be prejudiciall to the parties granting, must be by creating a confidence and securitie in them. 'Tis that that enervates multitudes and destroys caution, which ffear creates; so that to people once alarum'd, persuasions are ineffectuall, as supposed to proceed ffrom inabilityie to succeed otherways; and power to overcome is the onlie remedie left, where men are not content to desist ffrom their pretensions. And never was an action lesse popular, if that saying be true, that he that putts many men in ffear, makes many enemies: ffor the rigourous execution of this resolution, in displacing all men, not onlie of the King's meniall servants, but also the Lord Lieutenants, Deputie Lieutenants, Justices of Peace, Officers of the Custome-hous and Excise, made men apprehensive that there wanted power only ffor the operation of greater severitie.

WHILST these questions were in agitation, the King granted an ecclesiasticall commission, the powers of which were very extensive; as to visitt, suspend, or deprive, anie ecclesiasticall persons or bodies, to correct, amend, or vacate statuts of ffoundations, &c. The ffirst thing they did, was to cite before them the Bishop of London. The case was this: D^r. Sharp, minister of S^t. Giles's, had said some words in a sermon, which being reported to the King, gave him offence; he sent to the Bishop of London an order to suspend him; the bishop desired the

doctor to forbear preaching till he was reconciled to his Majesty; the bishop is cited before the Ecclesiasticall Commissioners; att his appearing they ask him why in pursuance of the King's commands he did not suspend D^r. Sharp? he desired a coppie of the libell or indictment against him and time to answer: t'was told him there was no libell, that was not the method of that court, their proceedings were *Raptim, Expedité, et Ore tenus*. However, time was given him to answer by his councill. Which when it came to be argued was to this effect; that the bishop could not suspend D^r. Sharp without a citation first, and a hearing upon that; that there was no matter of accusation laid before him whereupon to ground anie processe against him; that he had however admonished him not to preach till he had obtained the King's favour, that the monitions of a diocesan of that nature were by the law always looked upon as silencing; which was as far as he could goe. Having putt in this answer, he was ordered to withdraw, and without anie councill heard on the King's side or more words, they proceeded to sentence of suspension ab officio.

THE next thing they did was to cite before them the fellows of Magdelen Colledge, in Oxford. The case was this:

THE president of that colledge being dead, the King sends his mandamus to choos M^r. Ffarmer to be president of that colledge,

a new convert to the church of Rome. They, by petition, inform his Majestie that it was against the statutes of their ffoundation, and against their oaths to choos M^r. Ffarmer, who was a man not qualified by law to be their president: they stay till the utmost time allowed by their statutes, in expectation of the King's further pleasure upon their petition; the King's answer was, that he expected to be obeyed: they insisting upon the impossibilitie to violate their oaths or delay the election, doe choos D^r. Hough their president, and the election is confirmed by the Bishop of Winchester, their visitor. They are cited before the Ecclesiasticall Commissioners, and asked why they did not choos M^r. Ffarmer to be their president, in pursuance of the King's letters mandatorie. They answer the same thing, and produce testimonialls concerning his ill life. But D^r. Ffairfax demur'd to the jurisdiction of the court; the Bishop of Chester, the L^d Chief Justice Wright, and Baron Jenner, are sent commissioners thither to visitt that colledge: upon this, M^r. Ffarmer being ffound so unfitt everie way, the Bishop of Oxford, D^r. Parker, was proposed to them ffor their president; they answered, that D^r. Hough being ffairlie chosen, they could not in honour or conscience, or with the preservation of their oaths, choos anie other; whereupon by an order of the Ecclesiasticall Commissioners, dated the 16th of Nov. 1687, they are expelled, and by another order of the same Commissioners of Dec. 10, made incapable of anie preferment.

AFTER this the Commissioners take cognisance of separations of marriages; and in the Duke of Norfolk's case, they allowed the Dutchesse a separate maintenance of 1500l. a year; they also suspended the Vice-chancellor of Cambridge for not giving ffather Ffrancis a degree in their universitie, according to the King's mandamus.

THEY that defended the legalitie of this commission, said it was ffounded upon the statute of 1^o. Eliz. wherebie in my Lord Cook's construction, all the power the Pope had was vested in in the crown. Which made manie wonder that the King who was of the Roman religion should take the benefitt of a law that was the highest violation of the rights of the church of anie thing that ever was done by hereticks. Others who would say that it was an antient and undoubted prerogative of the crown to hear and determine Ecclesiasticall causes; were att a great losse to prove what those causes were, and how ffar that prerogative extended; since 'tis certain, that since the days of K^s John and Henrie the 3^d, the authoritie of the Pope in Ecclesiasticall affairs was so great, that the civill power interposed but very little; and it was alledged against it, that by 16 of Car. 1. and the 13 of Car, 2. it was enacted, that no such like court should ever be erected by commission. But as to the nature of the court, and its method of proceeding, it was said, that t'was a thing unheard of, not onlie in this kingdome, but in all other nations, that ever

the constitution of anie court in matters civill, was said to proceed *Rapim, Expedité, et Ore tenus*, they were terms not heard of in anie law in the world; nor was it to be imagined whence the example of a court was drawn, that without anie libell, indictment, or other fform of accusation, so much as verball, did proceed to sentence upon a bare question asked, and that grounded upon common fframe, a court that had no record or register wherebie error might be assigned, or appeal made to anie other power, and at once disseised men of their ffreehold without tryall and without juries, and superseded the jurisdiction of the hous of lords, which hath been so long in possession of a right of receiving appeals, and of being the supreme court of judicature within this kingdome. T'was thought strange that a power should be given lay men to excommunicate, where there was an episcopall goverment established, and a contravention to the laws ffor Ecclesiasticall persons to be cited out of their diocese.

ABOUT the moneth of August, 1687, Seignor Dada was made and declared nuncio to his holinesse within this kingdome, and was to make his publick entrie att Windsor. And that he might have all the honour done him that was possible; it was resolved that a duke should introduce him. The matter was therefore proposed to the Duke of Somersett. He humbly desired of the King to be excused; the King asked him his reason; the Duke

told him he conceived it to be against law; to which the K^s said he would pardon him. The Duke replied, he was no very good lawyer, but he thought he had heard it said, that a pardon granted to a person offending, under the assurance of obtaining it, was void. This offended the K^s extreamlie: he said publickly, he wondered at his insolence; and told the Duke he would make him fear him as well as the laws. To which the Duke answered, that as he was his sovereign, he should ever have all the dutie and reverence ffor his person that was due from a subject to his prince; but whilst he was no traitor or criminall, he was so secure in his justice, that he could not ffear him as offenders doe*. Notwithstanding the extream offence this matter gave his Majestie, yett out of his goodnesse he was pleased to tell the Duke, that he would excuse him. And yett within two days after he was told positivelie the King would be obeyed. He urged the King's promise to excuse him, but in vain; upon his refusall to doe it, the Duke of Grafton was employed to doe that office, and he lost these places; gentleman of the bedchamber, the lievtenancie of Somersetshire, &c. and coll. of dragoons.

MANY of the Duke's ffrinds magnified this action of his: they said the proposall made him was ffelonie by the 27 Eliza. Cap. 2. and that no man ought to illude the law by breaking it with a

* This the Duke told me when he was here.

prospect of pardon, no more than a man ought to break the divine commands, under the vain protection of an absolution, that pardons with the claus of *non obstante*, have no very good foundation, as being of late days introduced without the authoritie of law; that the law doth not favour pardons as appears by the statutes of the 2, 4, and 14 of Edward the third; that the design of some being to make so manie offenders against the law, that none could be punished, and so make it become a generall interest to have the laws repealed; t'was generous in him, and like a good patriot, not to contribute to such a practice, that the steadinesse he and the nobilitie showed to their religion and the laws, became their qualitie and their stations, ffor that there can be no disloyaltie to the King but in the breaking of his laws.

THIS summer the King made a progresse; ffirst into the west, visited Sedgemore where Monmouth was defeated, and after leaving the Queen att the bath, he came to Chester, visited St. Winifred's well, and returned by Oxford to the bath, where t'was said the Queen conceived of the prince. In all this progresse the King took perticular care to lett all people know that he did design to call a parliament, in order to have the penall laws and tests taken away.

THE King also issued out a proclamation for the recalling all his seamen and subjects out of fforraign service, perticularlie six regiments w^{ch} were in Holland; but the states generall refused to lett them return; so that except some officers, all the rest of those soldiers staid there, to the great displeasure of the King.

THE King did again putt fforth his declaration ffor libertie of conscience*, with an order it should be read two Sundays together in all the parish churches of England. Upon this the clergy of London took the matter into serious consideration, and weighed the reasons ffor and against it. They ffound nothing to make them complie, but the apprehensions of incurring the King's displeasure, and the inconveniences that might ensue thereupon. But on the other side they said, that the reading of it was as much as in them lay, a dismissing their congregations; a teaching, or att least an implication that the religion they had so long taught, had no real meritt above others. But what was most of all, and upon which they grounded their refusall, was that the declaration was declared illegall in K^s Charles the Second's time, in parliament more than once, and again even in this King's time; and that it was ffound upon such a dispensing power, as might att once overturn all laws, as well civill as ecclesiasticall. They further considered, that if they

* Ap. 1688.

consented to the reading this declaration, they should lose their interest and reputation with the nobilitie and gentry of the nation, so manie of which had lost offices of honour and proffitt ffor the sake of religion and the laws, which they by this action would seem to abandon; that in vain they had writt so many excellent things in defence of the Church of England, if when it came to action, they durst not justifie what they had writt; that if they should complie in this, something wors would certainlie be imposed upon them to ruin them, and having lost their reputation, they should fall unpitied; that they could never take an opportunitie of refusing, upon a point more popular or more justifiable; that their consenting to this, made their condition as precarious as that of anie other Dissenters, who having no legall establishment, were fforced to flie to the declaration ffor protection; that having once putt themselves upon the levell with them, they easilie foresaw, how they should be treated. I was then at London, when one of the best and cheif of the clergy communicated to me these thoughts, and their resolutions of applieing to the King. I asked him whether they were unanimous? He assured me they were; and fforther asking my advice in it, I desired to know in what manner they designed to applie themselves to the King. He answer'd, he thought the Bishops would doe it. If not, the clergy of London were readie to doe it in a bodie; and that some one of them would make a speech, setting forth their reasons, and that they could

not doe it in conscience. I told him, that since they had taken up a resolution of so great importance, two things ought to be industriously provided against; first, that nothing in what they did should have a face of rigour towards the Dissenters. If their not reading the declaration should seem to have that for its reason, it would neither have its due operation with the nobilitie and gentry, nor would preserv the Dissenters in the neutralitie they seemed then to affect. Secondlie, that they ought to consider well what they resolved to say, and deliver it in writing; for that words were liable to be misunderstood and misconstrued: that the matter was of a nature that was so little gratefull, that they could hardlie hope to have favour in the interpretation of what they said. He seemed to agree to my opinion. And no doubt both their own and other people's judgment^s with whom they consulted was the same, since they pursued that councill so exactly. For the Friday before it should have been read in the churches, six Bishops who were then in town, waited upon his Majesty with a paper writt by the Arch Bishop of Canterburie's own hand, setting forth that it was not out of any disrespect to his Majesty, or due tendernesse towards Dissenters, that they were against the reading his Majesty's declaration; but for that it was founded upon such a dispensing power as might sett aside all laws, and w^{ch} had been declared illegall in several parliaments. Whilst the first part was a reading, his Majesty seemed well pleased, but when

they touched so home upon the dispensing power, he expressed a great resentment att it. He told them t'was a blowing the trumpett for rebellion ; but that he would prevent them. There-upon S' Jonathan Tralawnie, Bishop of Bristol, fell upon his knees, and told his Majestie that his life and ffortune had ever been att his Majestie's servise, and ever should be where his conscience would give leav. The K^s told them he would be obeyed ; but withhall, in a milder manner att parting, said, that if he changed his resolution, they should hear from him the next day. The declaration therefore was not read in above five or six churches within the cities of London and Westminster, and the suburbs, and the example was prevalent through the nation. About a ffortnight after, the Archbishop and his six brethren were summoned to appear before the King in councill, whither when they came, after some questions asked, they were ordered to ffind sureties, to answer an information to be exhibited against them in the King's Bench. To this they pleaded the priviledge of peerage. Upon which they were all seven sent to the Tower, where they staid not long ere by Habeas Corpus they were brought to the King's Bench and bailed, the Archbishop in 500l. and the rest in 200l. bond ; and in Trinitie Term they were tryed upon the information. The King's councill did not sufficientlie prove the paper to be delivered, nor that that was the Arch Bishop's hand. However, the Lord Chief Justice Wright, upon the evidence as it stood, was begin-

ning to summe it up to the jurie, when Mr. Ffinch, of counsell ffor the Bishops stood up, with a design to have said something, but perceiving my L^d was begun to direct the jurie, would have sitt down again, which the Chief Justice would not suffer, saying, that it should never be objected that the Bishops' counsell could not be heard; and urging him to say what he was going to move, he answered: "My Lord, the matter in the information "not being proved, they must of necessitie ffind ffor us." Upon which it being again argued whether the deliverie of the paper was proved, or whether that was the Archbishop's hand, the King's counsell, that they might not be defective in a point so materiall, sent to Whitehall ffor my Lord Sunderland, to prove the deliverie of the paper. But when he came, all he could say, was, that he carried them to the King, and when they were alone, he left them. But that was the paper which the King gave him, and which he told him he received from them: this was thought no direct proof. But this intrōduced another long argument, whether the matter contained in the paper made it a libell, as was sett forth in the information. Upon which, the Bishops' counsell, but especiallie Sargeant Pemberton, argued with great learning and vigour against the dispensing power, setting fforth, as was said, (ffor the tryall not being printed we had onelie uncertain reports of those arguments,) that in vain did parliaments assemble and enact laws, if they could be dispenced with, or abrogated att pleasure; that the blood that had

been spent for gaining the great charter of England, and the multitude of confirmations it had had, were to no purpose, if the King, when he pleased, could avoid it. They quoted and produced the journalls and records of parliament, that the matters contained in the petition concerning the declarations in parliament, were true, and produced more to the same effect; they said t'was against all reason to affirm, that any power could abrogate a law, but that that made it; that the laws were the King's laws, but they were for the use of his people, as the high ways were called the King's ways, but they were for the generall and publick use of his subjects. Upon these and more arguments, strenuously urged, Judge Powell said he knew no such dispensing power. Judge Holloway said, he conceived it no libell. The Chief Justice was doubtfull: onely Judge Allibone, who was a Roman Catholick, said it was a libell. The jury, the next morning, brought in their verdict *not guilty*; which word was no sooner pronounced by the fforeman, but there arose a shout and a noise, so loud and so continuing, that the like thing had before been never heard. It went out of the hall, which was crowded with people, and was taken up by the watermen, and in a moment, like a train of gunpowder sett on fire, went both up and down the river, and along the streets, to the astonishment even of those that contributed to it. The Bishops did all they could to hinder the acclamations of the people, least that also should be objected as a crime, but in vain.

People, that upon other occasions had perhaps but little religion, and less veneration for that office, did not fail to fall upon their knees and to ask their blessing. And what was admirable, there was verie few villages throughout all England, where there was not bonfires, rejoicings, and ringing of bells the verie night that the post brought them the news: for t'was certain that their could be no correspondence for any such thing, and yett they all agreed in that sort of expression of their joy. Directions were given to the Judges in their circuits to punish the rioters; but no juries would find the bills; nor was it likelie, the multitude of offenders was too great,

JUNE 10th the Prince of Wales was born.

THERE happened two or three things during these flower years, w^{ch} I haveing omitted, shall sett down. The first is, that the French took from us Hudson's Bay in America, wherebie they are possessed of almost all the bever in the world. It was expected that the King would have taken care to recover it. But after a memoriall or two given in by his minister, there were commissioners to be named to treat about it *pro forma*, and no more talked of it.

THE second was the Algerriens having war with Holland, came into the Channell, and sent to demand of our King the

priveledge of our ports by vertue of the treatie made with them, and lieing most part of the winter in our channell, to w^{ch} we pretend a seignorie, struck a terrour into all passengers, w^{ch} gave scandall to the world, that we should suffer such insolence ffrom those piraticall infidells.

THE third was the case of my Lord Devonshire, who was struck by one Coll. Culpeper, in the little room next the King's bedchamber; ffor which ffact, he was tryed before the Green Cloth, and condemned to loos his hand, there being blood drawn: but was pardoned upon promise that he would make his submission to my Lord; which he not doing, my Lord meeting him in the great ffane room, asked him the reason of that omission. He giving no answer, but some scornfull action, my Lord was so provoked, that he fell upon him there and beat him much; but no blood being drawn, he was onlie prosecuted by information in the King's Bench, where they ffined him 30 thousand pound, imprisoned him ffor it, and fforced him to give bond ffor the money, otherways they would have extended his estate to the ruin of it.

LASTLIE, it is to be observed, that most part of the offices in the nation, as justices of the peace, deputie lievtenants, majors, aldermen, and ffree men of towns, are filled with Roman Catholicks and Dissenters, after having suffered as manie regu-

lations as were necessarie for that purpose. And thus stands the state of this nation in this month of Sep^r. 1688.

Sept. 24, 1688.

Now becaus these last ffive years have been productive of great events through the world, and are like to be ffertile in accidents of importance, since we have seen revolutions of empires, violent and amazing earthquakes, and persecution ffor religion, greater than was ever before in the world, it will be proper to the businesse in hand, to describe the state of Europe so ffar as will be requisite ffor the understanding the occasions and reasons of what shall happen, as much as weak humane reason can judge ffrom visible causes; ffor 'tis a divertisment those men call'd wise doe delight in, as children are pleased to guesse att riddles. But the infinite number of the unforeseen accidents, that are in the world, shows the vanitie of all the politicks of mankind. And whoever considers the subtile and various parts of which persons and causes are composed, will certainlie be out of love with the positive divinations of some statesmen. If there be a pleasure in politicall conjectures, ffor those that are by-standers, 'tis certainlie in judging after things are done, ffinding out the causes of unforeseen events, and diverting ones self with the ffals reasoning of states men, and with their surprise to be disappointed where they had their

game so sure in their own opinion. But to foresee, is too laborious and perplexing a toil, and the success so uncertain, and so seldom rewards the labour, that a man deserves the disappointment that voluntarily struggles with so barren a soil.

I KNOW not what to think of that old observation, *Nemo unquam Cometam impuné vidit*; for if they be only exhalations as our philosophers imagine, 'tis not easy to imagine how they should occasion wars: they, may indeed, so far effect the air, as to create diseases, but hardly beget quarrels. But yett the consequence of that prodigious comet which appeared in the year 1681, seemed not to breed any infection in the air, no famine, no pestilence hath made a desolation in the world, but animosities amongst men, wars and persecutions and earthquakes have ensued, which whether they had any relation to it; whether it was either a sign or a cause of these things, the Author of all things only knows. But this is certain; no age or time ever produced one equal to it. It appeared in the west, its beard, or rather streamer, reached to the third part of the heavens; it made its revolution in about — months, quite round the heavens by the pole, and disappeared in the east.

To begin, therefore, our observations of the state of Europe. Scarcely had the empire tasted the fruits of her late peace with

France, but a more dangerous storm seemed to threaten her. The Turks made mighty preparations for war, and when made, seemed to threaten indeed, the destruction of Christendome : nor did ever anie thing escape so narrowlie; for in the year 1683, the Grand Visier brought down into Austria, an armie of 150 thousand fighting men, and laid seige to Vienna; to avoid which danger, the disconsolate Emperour quitted that imperiall citie, the reputed of old, but as it then proved, the reall bulwark of Christendome, the Emperesse, his children, and his preists with him: he saw before his eyes his hereditary countrie in a flume, and his subjects captives by the Tartars. He fled; but from the onlie citie of refuge and strength that he had, with what anxiety of mind may be guessed, considering him a prince who had never appeared in arms, but hath been the most happie in generalls of anie that ever was; musick, devotion, and hunting, being his entertainments. Att that time, his armie under the command of the Duke of Lorraine, (who married the Queen Dowager of Poland the Emperour's sister,) was in no condition to oppose so formidable an armie, nor to reliev the town; their onlie hopes remaining were in the King of Poland, who was dailie expected, in conjunction with whom they were resolved to attempt the raising of the seige. In the mean time, the town was reduced to that extremitie, that it was not sure of holding out two howers longer, when the King of Poland did indeed come, and in conjunction with the Duke of Lorraine, fell upon

the Turkish armie, and after a very poor defence, putt them to flight. So hardlie did that great citie escape, and with it all Christendome, the most ffatall ruin that could be imagined: ffor what ffiorce could have been ffound to resist the Turks, once master of that place. And to adde to the terrour, the King of Ffrance had then an armie of 40,000 men upon the Rhine, watching the ffate of that citie, and with a resolution, if taken, to have entered Germany, to have received those into his protection who would have ffled to him ffor it, and to have fforced those that would not, and so to have made his dominions hereafter the limitts of Christendome. So insignificant is religion where interest comes in competition; ffor what judgement will men make of his persecution, who hoped ffor the ruine of Christendome, that he might increas his own empire? But it pleased God to disappoint their designes and defeat their expectations; ffor ffrom that day the Turks have been so unsuccessful, that were not the prey too bigg ffor the stomach of the eagle, in probabilitie that empire would be consumed. Ffor since Buda and Belgrade, and all the other fortresses of Hungarie and Slavonia are taken; since their distractions att home are so great, their discipline in war lost, their treasures consumed, their best governours either killed or strangled, since they having of long time been masters of the ffield, have neglected all ffortifications but those on the ffrontiers, which they have now lost, they in the condition they are in, cannot

more properlie be compared to anie thing, than a mightie ship made defencelesse by the loss of all her tackle and ammunition, and overcome by those that know not what to doe with so unwieldie a masse. And, no doubt, they are now so amazed att their own successe, that if the new wars were not likelie to call them back into Ffrance, they would be att a losse to determine what next to attempt. I shall therefore next make some observations upon Ffrance.

THE Protestants of that kingdome had ffor a long time thought themselvs secure under the edict of Nantes, and the manie confirmations it had had; they pretended also to some merit ffrom their ffidelitie to the King, in his minoritie, against the Prince of Conde, the Mareschall Turen being then a Protestant, and the generall of the king's fforges. But notwithstanding, they easilie perceived in the king, no good inclinations towards them, ffrom the very ffirst establishment of the peace and securitie of his raign. Att last, after the conquests he had made, had aggrandized his reputation and disciplined a numerous armie, and that peace abroad had made the opportunitie seasonable ffor the attempt, he made haste to demonstrate to the world, his resolution of suffering no religion in Ffrance, but that of the Roman Catholick: ffor in a verie few years he putt out above one hundred edicts tending to that end, the enumeration whereof would be as tedious as ungratefull. In the beginning, they

tended towards the creating so manie fforfeitures of churches, that there seemed almost no possibilitie to avoid them; and when the infinite care of the ministers and consistories provided against that, then ffals wittnesses procured a demolishment of their temples. They deprived them of all manner of offices and employments; nay, of all handicraft trades; they suffered no physitions, apothecaries, nor midwifes of that religion; they multiplied edicts as ffast one upon another as new thoughts of crueltie arise, that fforgetting what they had done they sometimes contradicted, sometimes repeated, what they had before said. Att last, when all other means were ineffectual, they declared downright they would have all change to the religion of Rome: those that refused, had dragoons sent to be quartered upon them; 50 thousand men were employed in this holie war: what desolation these men made, no tongue can tell, no pen can write: into a gentleman's hous of good estate, perhaps 20, 30, or 40, according to the capacitie of the place, were brought; he was obliged to provide ffor them and their horses; and when all was consumed that it was possible to procure, there was no indignitie nor barbaritie, that the license of souldiers practiseth in an enemie's countrie, but was there putt in execution. They ffound out torments not before heard of by the crueltie of man: they would sometimes lett them up and down, into a well, tied by the arms, till there was no appearance of life; they would rowl them naked upon broken glasse; they would make them

swallow hott water, and infinite other such things, according to the various notions of crueltie, w^{ch} those tormentors framed to themselvs. But to compleat all, finding that great numbers, to avoid such miserie, were willing to quitt all, and, by trusting to God's providence, seek ffor a secure, tho' a wretched life in fforraign countries, they absolutelie prohibited all escapes, confiscating their estates, and condemning the men to the gallies and the women to be shaven and imprisoned in monasteries ffor ever. Notwithstanding which so great numbers attempted to escape, that all the prisons of Ffrance were ffull as well as all the gallies: they then made it death to attempt to escape, w^{ch} was so ffar ffrom restraining them, that great numbers esteeming death better and more desirable than the miseries they endured, ventured even where there appeared no probabilitie of escaping the wonderfull strict watches that were everie where sett to apprehend them, and were accordinglee executed as ffast as taken; the preists with their continuall solicitations makeing the last catastrophe as unpleasant as anie of the other miseries. Various were the devices that were ffound out to escape; some lay in barrells a week, some more to be soe conveyed away; sometimes 30 or 40 lay cramm'd together ffor a week in a little cabane made in a ship, under her loading of salt or other goods, that t'was a miracle how they breathed; to prevent which they burned brimstone, &c. in the ships, that by obliging them to cough, they might discover them wherever they were hid, and

when found, the ship was confiscated, and the master sent to the gallies; and at last, as the utmost barbaritie, and which extended even to strangers, if any died without receiving all their sacraments, they tried their dead bodies, and, when condemned, took them out of the ground and dragged them to the dunghill. By good fortune they had by decree banished all the ministers before; by which a great many learned and pious men were preserved to be a monument of their inhumanitie, and to be a cause of their repenting such an oversight as the letting them escape. All the wise men of the world were at a loss to find out what could be the occasion of this action of the king's, for no body could conceive it to be a motive of conscience. His moralls and politicks had ever been a sufficient confutation of that notion, unless that his confessors had perswaded him, that it was the onely thing could atone for all his other sinns. It seemed the most directly contrarie to his interest of any thing he could have done; for it ruined his trade,—it deprived him of an infinite number of his subjects,—it made his shippes uselesse for want of men, and drove out of his kingdome those that were, to be sure, so many enemies, ready to seek revenge wherever an opportunity offered. Some people imagined that he affecting to quarrell with the Pope, as appeared by the regale and the businesse of the franchises, this persecution was done to fortifie his cause among Catholicks. And in effect, Mr. Tallon, in his pleading to the parliament of Paris against the Pope's bull,

made use of it as an argument to demonstrate to the world the king's zeal for religion. This seemed to verify the old observation of the Protestants, that the misunderstanding betwixt the Pope and their kings was a never-failing cause of their miserie. But men wondered that such a trifle as the franchises could, in the mind of a Prince so discerning, bear any proportion with the infinite losse he sustained in men and the money they carried away; in the ruin of trade; and, what was more considerable than all the rest, in the aggrandising the clergy, who were already but too powerful in his dominions. 'Twas wondered that he should be insensible how uneasy the church had been to his own ancestors, as well as to the emperors, the kings of England, and all other Catholick states, that he himself had found a sufficient contradiction from the court of Rome; and that 'twas a weak imagination that the matter would be mended by the ruin of the Protestants, whom whilst he had in his kingdom, he was sure of something to threaten with; but 'twas a stone when thrown away without execution, there remained nothing to offend withall. And now, no doubt, he must needs see, by the Pope's usage, that he is destitute of defence, and under the lash of the clergy, in as precarious a manner as either the k^{es} of Spain or Portugall, or the princes of Italie, are. However, having effected, to outward appearance, this great work, all his designs seemed to be to establish and enjoy the peace he had with all the world; and the speculative

men found out reasons one would have thought more than sufficient for so doing. They said that his health being of late uncertain, and he grown valetudinarie, the vigour of his mind was for that reason also weakened; that by his fortifying his frontiers and his vast buildings at home, he seemed rather to secure his peace, and enjoy it, than affect war. The numerous armie, the profusion of buildings, and other expences, made men suppose him no way rich. The death of his great generalls, the Prince of Conde, the Maraschalls of Turenne and Crequi, and his banishment of the Maraschall Schomberg for religion, had made him utterlie destitute of anie to command his armies; nor could there be anie war now, but the Dauphin must needs have a principall share in the command; which was a thing no bodie did believ he could bear with pleasure. The multitudes of Protestants abroad were sure to fill the armies of his enemies, and who would fight for something more than bare pay,—I mean revenge. He was sure, whenever he had a war, to have the arms of the empire upon him, w^{ch} were now animated with blood and victorie, and the Duke of Lorraine their generall, whose pretensions, as well as animosities were great, against him. They added also the great discontent of his subjects at home, occasioned by the impositions upon both their consciences and estates. But contrarie to all men's expectations, a war is upon the point of breaking out upon this occasion.

THE King of France had long had in his eye the making the Cardinal of Ffurstemburg, elector of Cologne, so soon as the old elector should die; and had so far proceeded by the force of his money, as to gett him chosen coadjutor, which was reckoned a great step towards the gaining that office. The elector dies; the chapter proceed to the election. The competitors are the Cardinal, Prince Clement of Bavaria, brother to the present Elector, and a Prince of the hous of Newburgh. The difference about the franchises not being yett adjusted betwixt the Pope and the King of France, his holinesse grants a bull of priveledge to the Prince of Bavaria, wherebie the Cardinal must have two parts of three, if none but they two stand, and three parts of fflower, if more be candidates, to make his election valid. The number of voices of the chapter are twenty-flower, whereof the Cardinal had thirteen, Prince Clement nine, and the Prince of the hous of Newburgh two; by which the majoritie gave it the Cardinal, but the bull gave it Prince Clement: the confirmation was reserved to the Papall see, by the concordates made by Nicholas the 5th and Gregorie the thirteenth. They both appeal to the Pope. He appoints, *pro fforma*, a congregation of cardinals and prelates to hear and report to him the meritts of the caus. But before the determination came, the King of France, jealous that he shall find no favour, draws his armie down towards the Rhine. The Cardinal fortifies and possesses him-

self of Bon. The German princes, no lesse diligent to prevent the possessing of Cologn, send the Maraschall Schomberg thither, with troops sufficient to defend the place. The k^e beseiges Philipsburg; and by that ffirst action of hostilitie, breaks the peace, whilst the conjunction of the princes of Germanie seem to be strong against him; and tho' the time of the year be properer ffor troops to draw into winter quarters, yett their campagn is but now, this month of September, a beginning, the Dutch, the Brandenburg, the Saxon, and other German troops being now gathering together toward that place.

As to the Dutch, they were thought by manie politicians to be so exhausted by the late wars, that att the end thereof, it was believed they would never be able to recover either their fformer trade, strength, or reputation. But the vertue of their goverment hath given a broad conviction to their enemies, that there was no ground ffor that opinion, since they now make as fformidable a ffigure as anie other state in Europe. In the beginning of this year, they begun to make so great preparations, both by land and sea, that no bodie doubted but they either apprehended a war, or intended to make one. Sometimes t'was said there was a triple alliance betwixt England, Ffrance, and Denmark; but if that was true, they so ordered the matter with the King of Denmark, that they settled their trade, and made a new treatie with him. But, notwithstanding,

they continued their warlike preparations with that vigour, that they gave jealousie to both France and England; the ambassadors from both those princes gave in pressing memorialls to know the reason of it; and the King of France by his minister, declared to them, that if they attempted any thing against the King of England, he should resent it as done to himself, the alliances betwixt them being so great. Yett notwithstanding, far from being terrified by those menaces, they proceed with greater expedition, and the Prince of Orange goes into Germanie, and there hath a conference wth the Electors of Brandenburgh and Saxonie, and other Princes of Germanie; and whilst they take care of Cologn, and to oppose the designs of France, by putting their united forces under the care of the Maraschall Schomberg, the prince shippes a considerable part of his armie, and strikes such a terrour into our court, that on the 21 of this instant, September, the K^s thought fitt to issue out a declaration, that he onlie desired of the parliament, that was to meet in November, that they would repeal such clauses in the acts of uniformitie, as punished such persons as not being promoted to spirituall preferment, did exercise their religion contrarie to the tenour of the said acts; and that he was willing the Roman Catholicks should continue incapable of sitting in the Hous of Commons. This condescention was beyond most men's expectations; but they were utterlie surprised, when the next post assured them, that the King had given directions to

the Lord Lieutenants, to restore to their commissions such Deputie Lieutenants and Justices of Peace as had been displaced; and that tho' the writts were come to the Sheriff's hands, yett by directions ffrom the Lord Lieutenants, they were ordered not to proceed to election. The resolution had been hitherto shown in the conduct of affairs, in plain opposition to the sense of the nation, made people expect no condescention; whilst they supposed, that the preists who had nothing but a desperate game to play, councilled; and whilst they had a prince that was thought as devout as resolute, to execute what should be agreed to be ffor the interest of their church. On the twentie eight, the King issued out a proclamation, wherein he declared that he had undoubted intelligence, that a great and suddain invasion was designed ffrom Holland; that manie English were acting in it; that t'was carried on with great secreise; and that he could not now meet his parliament, as he designed in November; but required all L^d Lieutenants, and Deputie Lieutenants, to be readie to repress and oppose the King's enemies, and fforbidding all aiding of them, and correspondence with them, under the severest penaltie. He att the same time, granted a generall pardon, with these exceptions: Ffirst, of all treasons committed beyond the seas; secondlie, of all, whose processes were alreadie begun; and thirdlie, of thirteen persons by name. But on the second of October, the gazette gave us another pardon different from the ffirst, the second exception being left out, and fflower

persons added to the number of the excepted, which was extraordinary; for certainlie those that were once pardoned, could not be declared criminal for the same offences: and there was added another exception, w^{ch} bore the same contradiction, which was; “And also excepted all persons, who as
 “to anie pains, penalties, or disabilities whatsoever, are excepted
 “out of the acts of free and generall pardon and oblivion, made
 “in the raign of our late brother.” Whether the confusion of businesse, change of counccills, or fault of the hands through w^{ch} it passed, made this grosse mistake, is uncertain*. The King restored the cittie charter; ordered the judgement against it to be reversed; restored the Bishop of London; broke the ecclesiasticall commission; and restored Magdelain Colledge. To the surprise of the people of England that had been restored, and to the offence of those that had complied with the King, complaining, that the court in prosperitie despised their old friends, and att the bare appearance of danger, abandoned those that att present were so.

October, 1688.

IN the mean time, nothing was left undone that might putt the King in a posture to defend himself. Commissions are granted for raising men, to almost all that would take anie.

* Note that tis said neither of these pardons are to be found on record.

granted ffor raising men to almost all that would take anie. Infinites of men prest for the shippes, and fforces drawn out of Ireland, ten men ordered to be added to everie companie, and the whole armie of Scotland marched through this countie the 12th and the 13th of this moneth; which, as Major-Generall Clavers, who being my old acquaintance, did me the honour to call here, assured me, did not amount to 3000 men. And yett all this while no news of landing. They carried with them a small train of ffive gunns. The hors and dragoons went to York, the ffoot through Lancashire to joyn the Irish. The commissions granted to three Popish L^d Lieutenants in Yorkshire were vacated, and the whole county putt under the lieutenancie of my Lord Newcastle, which, whether it happened ffrom the new resolutions taken to imploy some Protestants, or that the representation made to the King by all the gentlemen of Yorkshire of the ill condition of that countie to oppose anie invasion by reason of the want of L^d Lieutenants, under whom they might safely take commissions, without incurring the penaltie of law, is doubtfull. Att his first comeing into the countie he was principallie caress'd by the R. C.; and he gave commissions of Lieutenancie to some of them in the north rideing. Upon which the rest of the gentlemen did unanimsly agree not to accept commissions if they had anie. Which the King was pleased to complie withall, and ordered that none of them should be imployed: which,

added to the slow coming in of the souldiers his Grace was to rais, and to the little warmth the gentlemen showed either in their attendance upon him, or their favour to the Roman Catholicks, created dissatisfaction both in him and them. Severall other counties followed the example of Yorkshire, and refused to act in the lievtenancia in conjunction with the R. C.

ABOUT this time the bishops being called by his Majestie to give their opinions and advice to amend and to sett right what the councill he had taken had disordered, they delivered in eleven heads, or propositions, to this effect :

1. To restore all things to the condition they were in upon his Majestie's accession to the crown, by putting in offices persons qualified, and removing greivances.

2. THE dissolution of the ecclesiasticall commission, and promise never to erect anie such court.

3. THE prohibiting and revoking anie dispensations.

4. THE restauration of the universities and colledges to their rights, and the prohibition of all people to enjoy church livings, not qualified by law.

5. **THE** suppression of Jesuits schools.
6. **THE** sending inhibitions after the Romish bishops.
7. **THE** stopping quo warrantos against corporations, and restoring those taken away.
8. **THE** filling up vacant bishopricks, and particularie that of York.
9. **THE** acting no more upon a dispensing power, but referring that matter to parliament.
10. **THE** calling a free parliament, wherein, besides the redressing of grievances, a due libertie of conscience may be established.
11. **AND**, above all, that his Majestie would permitt some of his bishops to lay such motives and arguments before him, as might, by the blessing of God, bring back his Majestie to the communion of our holy church of England, into whose ffaith he had been baptized, in which he had been educated, and to which it was their earnest and dailie prayer to Almighty God that his Majestie might be re-united.

THAT they acted in this matter alone, and separate from the rest of the nobilitie, was excused by their being perticularlie called upon to give their advice, which they could neither refuse, nor take anie to participate in it, without permission.

THE next thing the King did was the restoring by proclamation all the corporations in England to their antient priviledges, the displacing all officers whatever in them that claimed their places by anie grant made by the crown since 1679, and the re-instating all those turned out since then. It bore date the 17th of this moneth, and no sooner came into this countrie, but S^r C. M. and S^r G. Ff. took possession of the corporations of Carlisle and Applebie, entering into the first in a kind of cavalcade, and ostentation of meritt, when in realitie they had so ffar complied with those times as to deliver up the charters of Carlisle, Kendall, &c. which was the illegall action now redressed. Proclamations were also issued out to prevent fals news, and to order all magistrates and officers to take care that all horses and cattle fitt ffor draught be driven twentie miles from the place where the Dutch should land. And directions were given ffor the imploying not onlie the soldiers att Hull about the ffortifications there, but all the countrie too, and to lett in the waters if need was.

ALL this while the Dutch and Swedish ambassadors denied

that their masters had anie design upon England, and the States themselvs delivered in an answer to the Marquis D'Abbeville's memorial, bearing date the 14th instant, wherein they assure the King, that they had no greater happinesse in prospect than the continuation of the peace and ffriendship with his Majestie; that since his Majestie had disowned so solemnlie what the Ffrench ambassador att a publick audience, and afterwards by a memoriall delivered by himself, had affirmed of great and strict alliances betwixt his Majestie and the Ffrench king, they were obliged to consent thereto, and give intire creditt to itt, but could doe no lesse than desire to know what those alliances were, w^{ch} appeared so fformidable; that they did with greif behold the discontent, which the irregular conduct of some persons gave the nation, as well in matters that related to religion, as to publick libertie and securitie, and that there was nothing they desired more than to see those misunderstandings removed, and that his Majestie would co-operate in the preservation of the peace made at Nimeghen.

T^{WAS} hard to understand how the vast preparations they made could correspond with this pretended resolution of preserving the peace; and t^{was} plain that either the Ffrench or English minister did prevaricate; whilst the one affirms great alliances to be betwixt the two crowns, and the other as

positivelie denies them. And lastlie, it seemed a noveltie ffor them to take notice of the irregular conduct of affairs here, there being no open disturbance in the nation.

Oct. 22th Day.

BUT that, which above all other things, ffurnished matter for discours was, that att this time the King summoned all the lords spirituall and temporal, in and about London; all the judges, King's councill, civilians, eminent lawyers, the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, to appear before the councill, and there told them, that being resolved to venture his person in the wars, he thought it proper, lest it should pleas God he should miscarrie therein, to assure the succession, which was become the more necessarie, in regard that some malicious persons had spread abroad a report, as if the Prince of Wales were not his real son, but a supposititious child. Upon w^{ch} the Queen Dowager appeared and declared what she knew; and a great manie other affidavits were read to the same purpose; the same persons, except the Queen Dowager, all appeared in chancerie, where they swore the same things over again, which depositions were entered in chancerie as they were before in the councill books. T'was reckoned a great unhappinesse, that this matter was not made so plain and demonstrated before, that it should need no proofs now, this being of the number of those things which are much better prevented than cured; and

t'was said, that the malicious talk of people was as loud before his birth as after, which might have been a sufficient caution to have prevented anie advantage, y' the Prince of Orange could pretend to by the conduct of that businesse; ffor if there had been some persons substituted on the behalf of the Princesse of Orange and the Princesse of Denmark, who was absent att the bath when the prince was born, in whom they had putt an intire confidence, and had been thereby their directors, it had, no doubt, been more convincing to them, than the depositions made, were to the people. Nor would anie perhaps have been so audacious, as some were, to print the old storie, that the clergy had prevailed with Queen Marie to act the like part; but that King Philip, as zealous as he was, both ffor the Roman religion, and the keeping of England, could not be brought to consent to such an imposture, least Queen Marie happening to die, a supposed child should inheritt his other mightie kingdomes, to the prejudice of his children he might have by another wife.

Oct. 29th Day.

THE rabble in the citie in a riotous manner assembled and pulled down the rails, altar, and pulpitt of the Popish chappell, in Bucklers-Burie, and burned them; and proceeded to the same violence against that in Limestreet, &c. the care of the citie magistrates not preventing it.

ON Tuesday the 30th att night, not onelie three of my own familie, but severall people in divers parts of the countrie saw certain phenomenas in the aer of clouds that turned into ffire, and which dixiding, mett again with that swiftnesse, which is naturall to that element. That they appeared like armies fighting or musketts as they imagined, I suppose to be rather such fformations as are apt to be in the minds of timorous and superstitious mankind, in times of publick ffears, than anie real ffigures those meteors have ; the appearances of which are not very unfrequent. The philosophers give no very satisfactorie account in their ghessing about these matters, and yett what they say hath as good a ffoundation as the divines, who would have them extraordinarie indications of God Almighty's anger ; which term how ffar it is applicable to the puritie of his nature, I shall not determine. But wherever such accidents are made use of more to magnifie the authoritie of the Church than to enforce moralitie, 'tis, no doubt, a crime.

AND now that we are upon the subject, as well as in the year of wonders, it will be seasonable to take notice of the terrible earthquakes, that have happened more universallie throughout the world, than in anie other year or age ; ffor both the new and old world have suffered this summer by that mysterious work of nature, which moveth both men's wonder and their ffear. Att Lima, the metropolis of Peru, t'was alto-

gether as violent, if not more than t'was there about 100 years before, destroying almost all the country, neither men, nor cattle, nor houses, nor shippes, nor even the ffish of the sea escaping its ffurie. In Italie, the ffamous cittie of Naples was in danger of being utterlie demolished; the village of Pisticcio was quite destroyed, and the cittie of Benevent had scarce anie thing left unruined. Some small motions of it were ffelt att Venice and Genoua, but with no considerable damage. But t'was no where more violent than att Smyrna, where it made a totall desolation; t'was said that the English alone there, lost by that accident, above 80,000 l. and the Dutch and other nations proportionable.

THE philosophers have ghesed at the reasons of earthquakes, according to the means of knowledge that the ages they lived in afforded them. In the beginning, Anaximenes conceived, that the earth being hollow and naturallie drie, was apt ffor that or the contrarie reason of too much moisture to divide and ffall by great lumps, which with violent concussions shook the whole masse. This opinion, and severall of the like nature, Aristotle derided, but established another as ridiculous in the opinion of the modern philosophers; ffor he owned the hollownesse of the earth, but attributed the onlie power of moveing it, to the fforce of aer; which Gassendi and des Cartes doe reject; and since the invention of gunpowder, make no doubt, but

that 'tis a sufficient solution of the difficultie to say, that 'tis performed by ffire, meeting with proper matter for such an operation; ffor if the ffiring of magazines have sometimes had effects so much resembling an earthquake, how much more may we reasonable beleiv that, when one of the great store-houses of nature is blown up, the earth itself that is most contiguous may be shaken. When islands are thrown up in the sea itself, and those of a considerable magnitude, as it happened in the Tercera's, and fformerlie in the Mediterranean sea, by the fforce of ffire; it will be needlesse to look ffor a powerfuller caus to satisfie the curiositie of philosophers, who like the *Turks* of late, take anie coin ffor current, that is but well guilt*.

IN this month, the Ffrench overran the whole Palatinate: they took Philipsburgh, Heidleberg, Spire, Manheim, &c. there being no armie in the feild to oppose them, managing the war with great crueltie, especially against such Protestants of their own nation as they ffound fled thither.

To conclude this month with domestick affairs, my Lord Sunderland was displaced of all the offices he had at court,

* Rycaut's Hist.

and my Lord Preston made Secretarie of State in his place; the occasion of whose disgrace is yett a secrett.

ONE thing onely ought not to be fforgott, w^{ch} showes how much too eager desires of attaining our ends blind our understandings; ffor as if all the apparent discontentes of the people, the conscioussesse they had of their having injured them, and the hazzard they were likely to run ffrom the preparations abroad were not sufficient, they added this last action to compleat the dissatisfaction and confirm the jealousie of the armie, the onely humane means of support they had remaining.— The armie as well as the nation, had, ffor a good while, been jealous that there was a design to have the armie composed of Irish and other fforraign Papists; to remove all further doubt of it, Coll. Slingsby, Deputie Governor of Portsmouth, by directions ffrom the Duke of Berwick, ordered the officers of the regiment to take in about 30 Irishmen into the regiment, w^{ch} being positively refused by Liev^t Coll. Beaumont, Cap^t Pack, and five other captains, who withall offered to lie down their commissions, they were sent ffor by a guard ffrom Portsmouth, and were designed to be tryed by a court martiall, wherein, no doubt, they would have proceeded to extremitie, if the ffresh alarums they every day received had not obliged them to take other measures. In the mean time, the enemies of Poperie, who were sufficientlie industrious to improve the

discontents of the armie, did not fail to make use of this as the strongest argument they could have wished for to have compleated their dissatisfaction. And 'tis certain, that murmurings, nay, even assurance, that they would goe in to the Prince of Orange was grown to be so universall, that tho' the court had howerlie informations of it, they durst neither punish or seise anie bodie for it.

ATT last, after the almost frustrated expectations of the Protestants, and the apprehensions of the court as it were removed by the assurance, that the Prince of Orange, after having sett sail from the Briel, was beaten back by storms, wherein he had lost two men of war, near a thousand hors, besides other great damage sustained; his fleet refitted, and numerous, was discovered under full sail the 3^d of November, from Dover; and the day following came into Torbay, the day of the Prince's birth, the day of his marriage, and the day that begun the greatest and most extraordinarie revolution that hath been seen in anie age. The next day, which was also the anniversarie for the happie discoverie of the gunpowder treason plott, he landed his armie, consisting, according to the printed list, of 3660 hors, and of 10692 foot, and were transported in 560 shippes accommodated for that purpose, and convoyed by 65 men of war and 10 fireshipps.

BEFORE I proceed in this relation, I cannot forbear remarking, how wonderfullie this thing succeeded in opposition to so many visible and apparent accidents, anie one whereof had they happened, the whole design must most certainly have miscarried.

EVERY body knew how much the king of France was concerned in the preservation and support of our King, he being the onely allie in all the world he could depend upon, and whose interests were intirelie united to his. How sensible he was of this was plain by the warm memorialls of the Count D'Avaux his ambassador, in Holland, who own'd the strictnesse of the alliance in such terms, as gave a suspicion here in England of danger, equall to anie one thing that had been done. Every bodie knew with how great wisdome that king had governed his kingdome for many years; and yett in this affair, one wiser than he, infatuated his councills, and made him putt himself out of a possibilitie of preventing what he would have hindered, no doubt, with the hazzard of his crown; for if instead of his carrying his arms into the palatinate and towards Cologn, as he did, he had sent but ten thousand men towards Flanders, he had utterlie rendered uselesse all the preparations; for the states would never to be sure have hazzarded their own securitie by sending away their troops.

OR had he, who never used to be sparing of his treasure where it was necessarie, att this time laid out 100,000l. amongst the principall leading men of Amsterdam, he might easilie have obstructed the whole design; ffor without the concurrence of that whole cittie, it could never have been effected.

BUT after all, had not my L^d Dartmouth taken up his station in a place, where, as the wind stood, it was impossible ffor him to stir, till the Prince's ffleet were gone so ffar, that he could not overtake them, there is no question but he would have destroyed a great many of them, if not the whole ffleet; he having 43 men of war, besides ffireships, of the best shippes we had, and perfectlie well manned and equipped: whereas the Dutch shippes were crazie and old shippes, and much inferior to them in strength.

To these escaped dangers, that of the season and ill weather usuall in that month, was not inconsiderable: and lastlie, to attempt the conquest of a nation, att that time of the year, was a thing almost unheard of.

BUT when he was landed, 'tis easie to apprehend what was like to followe.

THE clergie were dissatisfied, and thought themselvs ruined, ffrom the instances off the bishops off the ecclesiasticall commission, and the case of Magdelene colledge.—The justices off peace, lord lievtenants, deputie lievtenants, officers off the revenue, and off the state, were all displaced, that had not in fformal terms complied with what was desired, and soe were in despair.—The corporations were no lesse dissatisfied, by having their charters taken ffrom them, and suffering under strange and severe regulations.—The poor were intraged, by the severe exaction of the chimney upon the paupers, directlie contrarie to the intention and practice of that lawe.—The soldiers were jealous and angrie, att the ffavour and partialitie showed to Papists and Irishmen, as appeared in the case of Coll. Beaumont, Pack, and others; soe that there seemed to be an industrie exercised by the King's councill, to disoblige all sorts and ranks of men in the kingdome; which was the deeplier resented, becaus the nation had never made such zealous efforts to oblige anie prince as this att the beginning of his reign.

THEY had settled with great speed a revenue off 2,100,000 l. a year, and more in these perticulars. The customes were above 600,000 l. the excise 600,000 l. the chimney-money 230,000 l. as raised at last, the post office 55,000 l. the small branches as ffirst ffruits, ffee ffarms, alienation office, &c. 30,000 l. and the dutie on tobacco and sugars 50,000 l. They overlooked the

taking the customes without authoritie of lawe. They gave upon the tobacco and sugars threepence, when S^r Dudley North, the commissioner off the customes, and manager ffor the King in the hous of commons, asked but three halfpence. They would propose no new laws to be made ffor the securitie off religion, thoe the King had openlie declared himself off the church of Rome, becaus they would showe him that they relied upon his word. They broke all the fforms off parliament to dispatch the supplies demanded; ffor in the same day the motion was made for a supplie, the hous considered the motion, voted the summe in the committee, reported that vote, and agreed to it, and ordered a bill to be brought in, which steps have always required each a distinct day; and verie often thoe in times of war, considerable intervalls of time betwixt each off them; and they past a bill of attainder against the D. off Monmouth, (without examining witnesses,) in one day.

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